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ABSTRACT

Survey data collected from 2,718 Dade County (Florida) public school teachers were analyzed to determine the relationship between teacher ethnic identity and patterns of perceived work rewards and incentives. Anglo, Black, and Cuban teachers were included in the survey. Results indicated that patterns of differences existed among the teacher ethnic groups. Black teachers were somewhat more satisfied with their jobs, schools, and principals than Anglo teachers. Intrinsic rewards related to "reaching" students were primary for all ethnic groups, but Black teachers perceived these at higher rates than Anglos. Differences existed in orientation toward individuals in authority positions and colleagues. There were few ethnic differences in perceptions of financial rewards and incentives. Considerable mismatch was found between the types of students teachers from all ethnic groups wanted to teach and the students they actually taught. Implications for policymakers on incentives and on potential responses to various models of educational reform are discussed and policy recommendations for recruitment and retention are offered. (Author/CB)

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TEACHER ETHNICITY: RELATIONSHIPS WITH TEACHING REWARDS AND INCENTIVES

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ABSTRACT

The problem addressed was the relationship between teacher ethnic identity and patterns of perceived work rewards and incentives. Several questions were raised. Do Anglo, Black, and Cuban teachers desire and receive relatively similar rewards and incentives or are there major differences? If there are important group differences, do interactions between teacher ethnic groups and the ethnic identities of their principals and students contribute further systematic variation?

Survey data were collected from 2718 Dade County, Florida public school teachers working in 250 elementary and secondary schools. Principal and student ethnic data came from the management information system of the Dade County Public Schools.

Patterns of differences were found among teacher ethnic groups. Black teachers were somewhat more satisfied with their jobs, schools, and principals than Anglo teachers. Intrinsic rewards related to "reaching" students were primary for all ethnic groups, but Black teachers received these at higher rates than Anglos.

There were differences in orientation toward individuals in authority positions and colleagues. In matters of feedback on teaching, help with curriculum and instruction, work insights, and desired work relationships, Black teachers tended to be more oriented toward individuals in formal positions whereas Anglo teachers were more oriented toward colleagues.

There were few ethnic differences in perceptions of financial rewards and incentives.

Students are a potential source of incentives to perform well. However, considerable mismatch existed between the types of students (e.g. emotionally challenging, respectful and hardworking, intellectually challenging, underpriviledged) teachers from all three ethnic groups wanted to teach and the students they actually taught. The potential for matching student type with teacher desire to teach them (thus the potential for incentives) was higher for Black than for Anglo teachers.

Principal and teacher ethnic interactions did not produce findings with direct policy implications. Interactions between teacher and student ethnic identity did add variation to receipt of rewards, but no systematic patterns were found across reward categories or teacher ethnic groups.

Implications for policymakers concerning use of financial incentives, the primacy of students for teacher rewards and incentives, and potential differences in response to various models of educational reform were discussed. Policy recommendations for recruitment of new teachers and retention of practicing teachers through improving rewards and incentives were offered.

TEACHER ETHNICITY: RELATIONSHIPS WITH TEACHING REWARDS AND INCENTIVES

Context and Importance of the Study

Although very recently there has been some controversy (Feistritzer, 1986), a teacher shortage is generally predicted for the late 1980's and early 1990's (Carnegie Forum, 1986; Darling-Hammond, 1984) which will vary from minor to major depending on specific location. Besides increases in the school age population and the retirement of teachers, this projected shortage is also related to a decline in the appeal of teaching among capable young people--especially minorities--who have other career options (Boyer, 1983; National Center for Educational Statistics, 1982; Vance and Schlechty, 1983).

Simultaneous with the impending teacher shortage, the proportion of minority students is increasing while the proportion of Anglo students is decreasing (Futrell, 1983; Hodgkinson, 1986). These demographic shifts are occurring more rapidly in metropolitan centers, but will also spread beyond them in varying degrees.

There has been little study of the relationship between teacher ethnic identity and orientations toward work rewards and incentives. But as the ethnic composition of the student body and the teachers who teach them changes and diverges further, this question has potentially increasing importance to policymakers and people working in schools. One concern is

the possible relationship between ethnic background and policies for enhancing the recruitment, retention and continued improvement of quality teachers. It is possible that enacted and proposed policies from the current reform movement may have varying, systematic, and unanticipated consequences for recruitment and for retention and improvement of teachers from different ethnic groups working under various circumstances. As demography, a teacher shortage, and the reform movements intersect, inquiry into relationships among ethnic background, receipt of rewards and incentive and policies aimed at teacher recruitment, retention and improvement assumes increasing importance.

Problem Statement and Overview

The problem addressed in this report is the relationship between teacher ethnic identity and patterns of perceived work rewards and incentives. Several questions are raised. Do Anglo, Black, and Cuban teachers desire and receive relatively similar rewards and incentives or are there major differences? If there are important group differences, do interactions between teacher ethnic groups and the ethnic identities of their principals and students contribute further systematic variation?

Practical significance is given more attention here than statistical significance, which is sometimes simply an artifact of sample size. When policy is the issue, the real question is whether differences are large enough in absolute terms to warrant attention and potential intervention.

Ethnic group differences judged to be important were found in general satisfaction, receipt of various kinds of rewards, orientations toward colleagues and individuals in authority positions, desires to teach

particular kinds of students (e.g. emotionally challenging, intellectually challenging, underpriviledged), and potential matches between desired kinds of students and proportions of these students in the system at present. There were no group differences in response to financial rewards and incentives.

Although interactions between teacher ethnic groups and the ethnic identities of their principals and students did contribute further variation to receipt of rewards and incentives, no systematic interaction patterns were found across either ethnic groups or reward and incentive categories. The potential incentive value of various kinds of students ("kinds" not being ethnic designations) was an issue that arose from the analysis and was given considerable treatment.

Teacher ethnicity has not been the focus of much research or policy analysis. The researchers are sensitive that this inquiry opens the potential for charges of bias, but believe that the issues are important.*

Conceptual Framework

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a complex concept. For this study, Royce's (1982) definition was adopted:

> An "ethnic group" is a reference group invoked by people who share a common historical style (which may be only assumed), based on overt features and values, and who, through the process of interaction with others, identify themselves as sharing that style. "Ethnic identity"

*Given the potential sensitivity of the content, the responses of a group of Dade County teachers, who were subjects in the study (as well as some administrators and academics), to a presentation of an earlier draft of the paper at a conference was heartening. The essence of the response seemed to be: These are potentially sensitive issues, but they are real. We live with them, and it is helpful to have them in the open.

> is the sum total of feelings on the part of group members about those values, symbols, and common histories that identify them as a distinct group. "Ethnicity" is simply ethnic-based action (p. 18).

Included under "style" are elements such as specific values and value associations; nuances in communication, vocabulary, and meaning; orientations toward authority and power; assumptions and expectations about family, future status, and chances for social advancement; evaluations of elements important to a life style; child rearing practices; religious beliefs and their secular manifestations; and the acceptance of the entire fabric of the subgroup's social perception of reality (Burkey, 1978; McDavid, 1971; Royce, 1982).

Put somewhat differently, a common style is roughly a subculture. In this study the basic issue is whether subcultural variations in which teachers' backgrounds and ongoing experiences are anchored manifest themselves in the workplace as differences in perceptions of rewards and incentives.*

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*In common language, ethnicity is closely tied with the concepts of race and color. Anthropologists and sociologists, however, take pains to differentiate among these ideas. Race, for example, is typically associated with phenotypic or biological (e.g. color) rather than cultural or style characteristics (Burkey, 1978; van den Berghe, 1970). But the relationship among concepts is very complex. Burkey (1978) writes:

> In those societies in which a dominant ethnic group exists, a racial-ethnic group is defined as an ethnic group that is phenotypically divergent from the dominant group. Racial-ethnic groups in the United States include Black-Americans . . . and Chinese-Americans among others, since they have all the characteristics of ethnic groups yet are physically different from the dominant Anglos (or non-hyphenated Americans.)(p. 21)

What is of interest in this study is whether subcultural differences are related to rewards and incentives in the occupation of teaching. Color and race are integrally linked to social stratification and discrimination from whence some elements of subcultures arise, but are not themselves equivalent to ethnic style or subculture.

Rewards

Rewards are related to the consequences of action. They are perceived as compensation for actions taken. Rewards may have a positive or negative valence; they may be experienced as punishment, pleasure, pain or satisfaction (Mitchell, 1987). Though definitions differ, the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic rewards is widely recognized. Intrinsic rewards "consist entirely of subjective valuations made in the course of work engagement," (Lortie, 1975, p.101) such as pride and sense of accomplishment arising from doing good work. Extrinsic rewards such as salary, social position, or authority are "objective" in the sense that they are experienced by all role incumbents independent of particular personality (Lortie, 1975) and are "detached from the work itself and are conveyed for particular actions rather than in their execution." (Mitchell, 1987, p. 207)

Lortie (1975) demonstrated empirically that teachers "are more powerfully affected by intrinsic rewards--particularly their sense of responsibility for student learning and their enjoyment of warm social relations--than by extrinsic rewards delivered after their work has been observed and evaluated by others." (Mitchell, 1987, pp. 207-208). But this recognition points to limitations for policymakers and administrators because the most potent intrinsic rewards are controlled almost exclusively by students rather than school managers.

Incentives

Incentives are often confused with rewards because in common conversation the terms are used interchangeably. Mitchell (1987) clarifies the difference:

> The distinction between a reward and an incentive lies not in the content of the experience, but in the attention given to the method of distribution. Rewards are used as incentives when their distribution is planned and controlled in such a way that recipients can anticipate receiving the rewards if they take particular actions. Which is to say that there are two crucial dimensions to the process by which various experiences contribute to the work motivation of teachers. . .. First, there is the "reward-value" of these experiences; that is the amount of satisfaction/dissatisfaction . . . they are capable of producing. Though this reward value is subjectively determined, experiences with a higher reward-value have a higher impact on motivation. But there is a second dimension to this process that is even more important. The "incentive-value" of these experiences that motivate work behavior has to do with how they are distributed, not with the amount of impact on individuals when they are encountered. (pp. 208-209)

The incentive system of a school is the distribution process that mediates the receipt of certain rewards. The fact that students rather than administrators and policymakers control the distribution of the most important intrinsic rewards, makes student very important in the incentive system of the school.

In this study there are direct measures of various kinds of rewards. There are more indirect measures of several kinds of work incentives.

Method

Setting

The survey data analyzed in the paper were collected in 1984 from Dade County, Florida, public school regular classroom teachers as part of a larger research project (Provenzo, Cohn & Kottkamp, 1983-85) aimed at assessing stability and change in teacher attitudes over 20 years (see Kottkamp, Provenzo, and Cohn (1986) for details). The location contains a great mixture of ethnic groups, socioeconomic levels and life styles. The district is the fourth largest in the country, and its 250 schools are

spread across urban, suburban and rural areas. The teacher population is diverse in background.

Survey Questions

Many of the survey questions were developed by Dan Lortie. The 1964 responses to these questions were used as data for Lortie's (1975) classic sociological study, Schoolteacher, which has given scholars much of the vocabulary and many of the concepts used to analyze the occupation. New survey questions were also designed for the study. They included probes concerning negative rewards and merit pay.

Teacher Sample

A 40% random sample of classroom teachers was drawn from each of the 250 regular elementary and secondary schools in Dade County. Following extensive follow-up procedures, a 64% usable return rate (N=2718) was achieved for the 17 page survey.

Decisions on Operational Definitions of Teacher Ethnic Categories

Two questions were used to allocate teachers to the three ethnic categories used in this study. The first question asked for self-identification under one of the Dade County Public Schools five standard categories: (1) White Non-Hispanic, (2) Black Non-Hispanic, (3) Hispanic, (4) Asian American, (5) Native American. (Asian and Native American teachers were deleted from the analyses because they were insufficient in number for meaningful analysis.) The second question asked for the individual's place of birth from among seven regional categories, Cuba, or another foreign country.

Response rates for the three retained ethnic categories were then checked against the percentages of regular classroom teachers reported in the district's yearly report (Dade County Public Schools, 1985). These

figures showed: White Non-Hispanic 55%, Black Non-Hispanic 28%, and Hispanic 16%. The respective survey returns were 60%, 25% and 16%. Thus, the White Non-Hispanic group is slightly over represented while the Black Non-Hispanic group is slightly under represented.

Responses to the question on place of birth were then consulted. Of the White Non-Hispanic teachers, 30% were born in the South and 70% were born in the North or West; of the Black Non-Hispanic group 94% were born in the South; of the Hispanic group 83% were born in Cuba. Comparisons were then run on Southern versus Northern/Western White Non-Hispanic groups and Cuban versus Non-Cuban Hispanic groups on the questions of interest in the study. (The number of Northern/Western born Black Non-Hispanic teachers was not sufficient to make an analysis against the Southern group meaningful.) There were minor differences between the Southern and the Northern/Western White groups. There were important differences between the Cuban and Non-Cuban Hispanic groups.

Given the analyses of regional origin, it was decided to combine all teachers identified as White Non-Hispanic into a single group called Anglos; to combine all teachers identified as Black Non-Hispanic into a single group called Blacks; and to retain only the Cuban born Hispanic teachers in a group called Cubans.

The solution does not resolve all problems. The Anglo group contains individuals with different regional origins and individuals who would typically be identified as members of other ethnic groups. The most notable case is individuals of Jewish identity. It is known from interviews with randomly drawn teachers that the number of Jewish teachers is considerable and that they are likely to be of Northeastern birth, but there is no way of distinguishing subgroups within the White Non-Hispanic

response.

Of the operationally defined groups, Cubans probably come closest to sharing a style and subculture typically identified with an ethnic group. Blacks, in part because most share a Southern origin, also probably share reasonably similar subcultural experiences. The Anglo group is most problematic in terms of the definition of ethnicity. Thus, the single, self-identification survey item produced only an approximate measure of ethnic identity, and even though self-identified with an ethnic group, some individuals in this study probably share only part of the subculture assumed to be common to members of that group.

A caveat is required. The Cuban teachers form a location specific group the responses of which cannot be widely generalized. It is especially important to note that this group cannot be generalized to other groups identified as "Hispanic" in other regions of the country. The Cuban born teachers in the Miami area (almost all of whom came in the early waves of immigration in the 60's) came from a solid urban middle class and professional background.

While the particular findings concerning the Cuban group are not generalizable, its inclusion does provide additional data about the general question of whether subcultural differences are associated with patterns of differences in orientations toward various rewards and incentives in teaching. While the Cuban group is included, the discussion concentrates on the Black and Anglo groups, the results from which are more likely to have a degree of generalizability.

Principal and Student Data

Ethnic data on principals and students were necessary for interaction analyses. These data came from the district's records (Dade County Public

Schools, 1985) in which the principal of each school is identified by one of the district's standard ethnic descriptors along with the percentage of students in each ethnic category. Principal and student ethnic data were then merged onto each individual teacher record.

Only the categories of Anglo, Black and Hispanic for both principals and students were used in the analyses. Dade principals are 62% Anglo, 29% Black, and 9% Hispanic. The total student population of the district is 39% Hispanic, 32% Black, and 28% Anglo.

A decision rule was set to create four school level student population categories. If the school had 50% or more of its students in any one category the school was designated as Predominantly Anglo, Black or Hispanic. Schools in which no group had at least a 50% population were put in a fourth category of No-Predominance. By this rule, 32% of schools were Predominantly Hispanic, 31% Predominantly Black, 23% Predominantly Anglo and 13% had No-Predominance.

One last difference should be noted. The Hispanic category of students is broader than the Cuban category of teachers. Hispanic students come from several waves of Cuban immigration, and from various Latin American and other backgrounds.

Model for Analysis

The first analytical issue is whether the receipt of various rewards and incentives takes a similar or different pattern across the ethnic groups. The second analytical issue is whether interactions between the ethnic identity of the teacher and his or her principal or students enhance the understanding of receipt of rewards beyond the knowledge of ethnic identity of the teacher alone.

The analyses employ primarily percentage counts and cross-tabulations

because most survey questions were posed in categorical format. The sample size was insufficient to include both principal and student dimensions of interaction simultaneously; consequently, separate principal and teacher interaction analyses are were conducted serially. Mean differences were analyzed for the several questions posed in continuous format.

Practical rather than statistical significance is given attention in this study. In part because of the relatively large sample size, almost all analyses indicated statistically significant differences among ethnic groups. But with policy as the focus, the real question is whether differences are large enough in absolute terms to warrant attention.

Results are reported in several sections: a description of demographic characteristics of the sample; a description of patterns of ethnic group differences across various reward and incentive measures; and results of the interaction analyses.

Results

Demographics

Table 1 presents sex ratios for the ethnic groups. Always in lower proportion than females, males range from a high of one quarter of Anglo teachers to a low of only one tenth among Cuban teachers. There are clear ethnic differences in the female/male teacher ratios.

Sex ratio differences among groups are probably related to proportional differences in grade levels taught. Males generally teach in higher proportions at the secondary level, especially the high school. The data in Table 2 indicate that Blacks, and especially Cubans, have

proportionally higher representation in the Kindergarten/primary level. The intermediate level shows a slightly higher proportion of Blacks. At the junior high level Blacks again show a higher proportion of teachers, while at the high school level the proportion of Anglos is twice that of either of the other groups.

Table 1

Percentages of Female and Male Teachers in Sample by Ethnic Group

	Anglo	Black	Cuban
Female	74	80	90
Male	26	20	10

Table 2

Percentages of Ethnic Groups Teaching in Various Grade Levels

	Anglo	Black	Cuban
Kindergarten, 1st, 2nd, 3rd	26	34	39
4th, 5th, 6th	24	22	25
7th, 8th, 9th	19	25	19
10th, 11th, 12th	23	11	11
Grade range broader than listed above	7	2	6

Table 3 displays total teaching experience. Blacks and Anglos have roughly comparable proportions through the different ranges of experience. Cubans show slightly higher proportions at both extremes and slightly less in the middle range of experience.

Table 3

Percentages of Ethnic Groups in Different Ranges of Total Teaching Experience

	Anglo	Black	Cuban
1 year or less	2	4	3
2 to 5 years	10	11	18
6 to 10 years	19	16	22
11 to 15 years	24	23	17
16 to 20 years	20	21	14
21 to 25 years	13	12	13
26 years or more	13	14	15

Rewards and Incentives: Patterns of Ethnic Group Differences

There are some systematic perceptual differences among the three ethnic groups in rewards and incentives received. Generally, but not universally, Anglos and Blacks are on the opposite ends of patterns and Cubans lie somewhere between. Focus in this section is on Blacks and Anglos. Although the Cuban teacher group is not generalizable beyond the immediate setting, it does provide evidence on the general question of the importance of ethnic identity with regard to rewards and incentives.

Rewards: direct and indirect indicators of satisfaction. This section details differences in responses to questions about rewards. Rewards are viewed as consequences of actions taken. Recipients need not anticipate them as a result of taking particular actions, as with incentives. Further, rewards may possess either a positive or negative valence.

In broad strokes, there is a tendency for Anglo teachers to be the least satisfied with their jobs and schools and the most likely to send their own children to a private rather than public school if given the option. Black teachers tend to be the most satisfied with their jobs and only slightly less satisfied with their schools than Cuban teachers. If given a choice of a public or private education for their children, Blacks are the most likely to exercise the public option. These relationships are shown below.

Job satisfaction is an overall index of the reward value of work. The issue posed was: "I feel as follows about my particular job:" The responses were indicated on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from "very satisfied" (7) to "very dissatisfied" (1). Means for Anglo, Black and Cuban respondents were 5.26, 5.70, and 5.57 respectively. Anglos show the lowest satisfaction level, Blacks the highest. The differences, however, are not great.

A parallel satisfaction question with parallel responses was asked about "my school as a workplace." Means for Anglo, Black and Cuban teachers were 4.90, 5.30, and 5.36 respectively. All scores are lower than for job satisfaction. In this case Anglos showed the lowest levels of satisfaction and Cubans the highest. Blacks responded similarly to Cubans. Again, the differences are not great.

A powerful indirect question eliciting an overall response to satisfaction with teaching asked: "Would you like to have a child of yours take up teaching in the public schools as a career?" The "yes" responses were Anglo 26%, Black 27%, and Cuban, 39%. This question yields a much lower positive response than the typical job satisfaction question. There is a 13 point difference between the low Anglo and high Cuban response but essentially no difference in the responses of Anglos and Blacks.

Another valuation of one's work and an indirect statement of its reward value was assessed by asking: "Suppose you could send your eldest child to a private school, tuition free. Would you prefer to send him/her to a private school or to a public school?"* The "public school" responses were Anglo 44%, Black 65%, and Cuban 48%. The difference of 21% between the Anglo low and the Black high was substantial.

Rewards: extrinsic, intrinsic, and ancillary. Having seen the general pattern of higher Black and lower Anglo responses to various general indicators of satisfaction, attention is turned to three specific categories of rewards--extrinsic, intrinsic, and ancillary.

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*It is less likely for a teacher to choose to send his or her child to a public school (given a private option) if the teacher does not feel satisfied and rewarded with his or her own teaching work. This particular item, no doubt, also contains elements of other valuations for the respondent besides satisfaction with teaching. For example, ethnic group differences in actual attendance patterns at private schools as well as some valuation related to the particular context in which the teacher works are also likely to be reflected in the answers. The question, however, is used with several others to probe for the existence of patterns or tendencies which differentiate groups and provides an illustration of a general issue running through the paper. No single question is given tremendous significance in interpretation. However, when patterns appear across several related questions, more credence is given to the findings.

Extrinsic rewards are "objective" and received in detachment from the process of work itself. Lortie (1975) developed a categorical question to differentiate perceived importance from among a group of extrinsic rewards. Responses of the three groups are indicated in Table 4. There are important differences among groups. The "respect from others" response draws twice the percentage of choices among Cubans as among Anglos. Anglos, by contrast perceive wielding of "influence" at 10% higher than the other groups. Also noteworthy are the comparatively low responses for "salary" and conversely the relatively high "no satisfaction" response which draws a fourth of Anglo and Cuban responses and a third of Black responses.

Table 4

Percentages of Ethnic Groups Choosing Various Extrinsic Rewards

From which of the following do you receive the most satisfaction?

Response Chosen	Anglo	Black	Cuban
The salary I earn in my profession	16	11	12
The respect I receive from others	21	31	40
The opportunity to wield some influence	36	27	23
I receive no satisfaction at all from these things myself	26	32	25

Intrinsic or psychic rewards are subjective and received wholly while engaged in the work itself. They have consistently been shown to be the most salient kind of reward for teachers. Lortie developed a six category

question probing intrinsic rewards; the responses of the sample are depicted in Table 5. The most important finding is the overwhelming importance of "reaching students" for all ethnic groups. The largest difference to show up is the 9 point lower response by Anglos compared to Blacks on this response. The other difference comes in the response of "developing relationships with young people" where Anglos score proportionately much higher than Blacks, though the absolute difference is 7 points.

Table 5

Percentages of Ethnic Groups Choosing Various Intrinsic Rewards

Which of the following is the most important source of satisfaction?			
Response Chosen	Anglo	Black	Cuban
The opportunity teaching gives me to study, read and plan for classes	2	2	2
The chance it offers to develop mastery of discipline and classroom management	1	2	1
The times I know I have "reached" a student or group of students and they have learned	84	93	89
The chance to associate with children or young people and to develop relationships with them	10	3	6
The chance it gives me to associate with other teachers and educators	1	0	1
I receive no satisfaction from these	2	1	1

Lortie described a third category of teacher rewards. Ancillary rewards are simultaneously objective and subjective. They are related to objective characteristics of the work but may be subjectively valued more by some than by others. They tend to be stable through time, more important in attracting persons to an occupation than rewarding them on a continuing basis and are often taken for granted with time. Table 6 shows responses to a categorical question with five alternatives. Major differences occur on the response concerning "time for family and travel" where Anglos score 11 points above Blacks and on the "special appropriateness of the occupation" for the individual where Cubans and Anglos score 14 points higher than Blacks. The most startling difference, however, is the "no satisfaction" response which Blacks choose at three times the rate of Anglos.

Table 6

Percentages of Ethnic Groups Choosing Various Ancillary Rewards

Which of the following things do you like best about teaching?

Response Chosen	Anglo	Black	Cuban
Relative security of income and position	17	17	11
Time (esp. summer) to permit travel, family activities, etc.	38	28	35
Opportunity to earn a living without much competition with others	2	5	2
Its special appropriateness for persons like myself	32	18	35
None of these afford me satisfaction	11	32	17

Three questions required choices from among options within a reward category. A final question required a choice of greatest importance from across the three categories of rewards--extrinsic, intrinsic, and ancillary--as Table 7 shows. Clearly intrinsic rewards are considered most important by the vast majority of teachers, but there are ethnic variations in the intrinsic and ancillary categories. Blacks choose intrinsic rewards at a rate 18% higher than Anglos, with Cubans falling closer to Blacks. One quarter of Anglos choose ancillary rewards, a rate 10 points above Cubans and almost three times that of Blacks.

Table 7

Percentages of Ethnic Groups Choosing Extrinsic, Intrinsic, or Ancillary Rewards

Of the features grouped below, the following is most important to me:

Response Chosen	Anglo	Black	Cuban
The salary and respect received and the position of influence	12	10	10
The opportunities to study, plan, master classroom management, "reach" students, and associate with colleagues and children	64	81	76
The economic security, time, freedom from competition and appropriateness for persons like me	24	9	15

The data do indicate a relationship between ethnic identity and receipt of rewards. Black teachers perceive themselves to be receiving

their primary satisfaction through intrinsic rewards, especially knowing that they have "reached" students, at higher rates than the other groups. This pattern is consistent with their higher general satisfaction--even though at the same time Black teachers report the highest absence of any kind of extrinsic or ancillary rewards--because historically the primary rewards sought by teachers have been intrinsic (Lortie, 1975). The Anglo case is the reverse. Higher receipt of satisfaction from ancillary and lower receipt of satisfaction from intrinsic rewards appears associated with lower general satisfaction with their work.

Negative rewards. Rewards can also be negative; consequences can bring dissatisfaction, pain or disappointment. One question probed why teachers thought their colleagues were leaving their positions. Although the question was posed indirectly as why "other teachers" might leave, the responses probably reflect reasons why the respondent might leave. Teachers were asked to rank order three choices from a list of ten. The percentages listed in Table 8 indicate the total of first, second and third choice responses for each item.

The ten negative reward possibilities can be organized as detractors from positive intrinsic or extrinsic rewards. Discipline problems, unmotivated students, frustration of ideals, lack of parent support, and exhaustion or burnout are all conditions directly related to reducing the teacher's ability to garner the primary intrinsic reward of "reaching" students. Low salaries, low standing of the profession, difficulty in advancement, greater opportunities elsewhere, and absence of recognition for high performance are all blocks to receiving extrinsic rewards, those not derived directly from work engagement.

Scrutiny of the results shows that low salaries, discipline problems,

and, at a considerably lower rate, exhaustion or burnout are the three most important reasons for leaving teaching for all ethnic groups. Two of these three are problems impeding the flow of intrinsic rewards.

Table 8

Percentages of Ethnic Groups Giving First, Second and Third Choices to Ten Reasons for Why Teachers Are Leaving the Classroom

Rank in order (1,2,3) the three main reasons why you think teachers are leaving their jobs:

Response Chosen	Anglo	Black	Cuban
Low teacher salaries	73	75	68
Discipline problems in the schools	62	75	60
A feeling of exhaustion or burnout	44	26	34
Frustration at being unable to achieve one's ideals as a teacher	25	17	28
Low standing of teaching as a profession	22	17	27
Students are unmotivated /uninterested in school	26	19	20
Parents don't support teachers	15	24	21
Outstanding teacher performance goes unrewarded	13	13	19
Greater job opportunities for women and minorities	10	12	8
Difficulty of advancement	7	7	5

When differences among ethnic groups are focal, the three responses with greatest ethnic variation are burnout, discipline, and frustration of goals. Of these, Blacks perceive the most problems with discipline,

Cubans with frustration of ideals, and Anglos with burnout. Although all of these conditions are related to blockage of intrinsic rewards, there are also differences. Discipline problems are essentially an issue of external agents, at least some of whom are not directly under the teacher's personal charge. Frustration of ideals and burnout, however, are internal conditions residing in the teacher. Burnout, for example, as defined by Maslach (1977) has three components: emotional exhaustion, depersonalization of clients, and loss of a sense of personal accomplishment. Mitchell (1987) argues that burned out teachers are often competent and know how to be effective but have simply lost the <u>will</u> to exert the energy to be so. Frustration of one's ideals as a teacher is another internal condition that may be related to erosion of one's sense of efficacy as a teacher.

Looking back to the prior issue of receipt of intrinsic rewards, it might be hypothesized that externally located detractors such as discipline problems may have less negative relationship with the flow of intrinsic rewards than internally located detractors such as burnout or frustration of ideals. Causality cannot be assessed, but this issue may warrant further investigation.

<u>Students as incentives</u>. Incentives are rewards which are anticipated on the condition that their potential recipients take particular actions. They have two motivational values. The reward-value of an incentive is the amount of frustration/fulfillment or satisfaction/ dissatisfaction it is capable of producing. The incentive-value has to do with the means of its distribution.

Students are powerful agents for distribution of incentives or disincentives for teachers. The primacy of intrinsic rewards, especially

those related to "reaching" students has been demonstrated. However for a teacher to feel rewarded students must respond positively. Students both individually and corporately have a wide range of latitude in deciding to work with, fight against, or ignore the teacher's efforts to reach and teach them. To the degree that a teacher believes that students are willing and capable of learning and also possesses the knowledge and skills to work with them, the students have an incentive value because the condition for receiving intrinsic rewards is energy put into effective teaching behavior. Conversely, students may have disincentive value. To the degree that they are unwilling to work with the teacher, the teacher believes that they are unwilling or incapable of learning, or the teacher lacks sufficient background or confidence to teach particular students, there is a disincentive value because the condition for receiving intrinsic rewards is either not under the teacher's control or is beyond his or her belief or ability to affect. Energy put into teaching in these circumstances may not result in reward; hence, there is low motivation to expend energy on effective teaching.

Carlson (1964) described schools as client serving institutions in which neither the client nor the institution has membership choice. Teachers typically lack choice in particular students assigned to them. Thus, while particular kinds of students may have potential incentive or disincentive value for teachers, the kinds of students in the system are beyond the power of most teachers to control.

Two questions were asked which parallel the two issues just described: (1) students who have particular incentive value for the teacher, and (2) the reality of the students in the system, a condition beyond the teacher's power to affect. The questions were: "If you could

select your students next year, what would be your first choice among the following alternatives?" and "Which group best describes your students this year?" It should be noted that these questions force simplification of reality because classrooms typically contain a mix of students, and the questions constrained teachers to answer as if all students in their charge were in a single category.

Table 9 indicates the percentages of five different kinds of students teachers in each ethnic group desire to teach.* Answers presumably indicate incentive values of particular kinds of students. There is some consistency in choice ranks across the three teacher ethnic categories. For example, each group has as its highest choice respectful "nice kids" and as its lowest choice emotionally challenging students. There are, however, differences in both pattern and degree of student choice when teachers are considered by ethnic group. Although all groups have "nice kids" as their first choice, Anglos register a desire for this category 15% higher than Blacks. Anglos and Cubans place intellectually-demanding students in second place while for Blacks second place is given to underprivileged students, just ahead of intellectually-demanding ones. Anglos have low desire to teach the underprivileged. Both Cubans and Anglos have a low desire to work with "slow-learners," while Black teachers, by contrast, show considerably higher desire to teach these students.

*These five descriptors are not "scientific", nor are they suggested as labels to be applied to students. For many individuals these descriptors likely carry positive and negative associations. However, feedback from teachers who were subjects of the research indicated that the categories are useful analytical tools because they do mirror reasonably well some colloquial categories actually used by teachers and the population at large in thinking about various students.

Table 9

Percentages of Ethnic Groups Preferring Various Types of Students for the Coming Year and Actually Teaching Them

A: If you could select your students next year, what would be your first choice among the following alternatives?

[B]: Which group best describes your students this year?

Student Type Chosen	Anglo		Black		Cuban	
	A	[B]	A	[B]	A	[B]
Students whose emotional needs are a challenge to the teacher	2	[18]	5	[17]	4	[10]
"Nice kids," from average homes, who are respectful and hard-working	51	[28]	36	[21]	43	[24]
Creative and intellectually-demanding students calling for special effort	30	[8]	22	[8]	27	[5]
Underprivileged students from difficult or deprived homes for whom school can be a major opportunity	9	[22]	24	[25]	18	[28]
Students of limited ability who need unusual patience and sympathy--sometimes they are called "slow-learners"	8	[24]	13	[29]	8	[33]

Table 9 also shows the percentages of types of students teachers in each ethnic group perceive to be teaching. Several patterns are evident when compared with the kinds of students teachers desire to teach. First, there is less variation across teacher ethnic groups in the percentages of respectful "nice kids," underprivileged students, and "slow-learners" actually taught than in the desire to teach these students. Second, all

ethnic groups actually teach higher proportions of emotionally challenging, underprivileged, and "slow-learners," and lower proportions of respectful "nice kids" and intellectually-demanding students than they desire to teach.

Because the question concerning kinds of students was asked in both desired and actual forms, it was possible to determine whether each teacher was actually teaching the kind of student preferred. The decision rule was to begin with each teacher's student preference (e.g. emotionally demanding) and compare it with the actual kind of students taught. If the preferred and actual (emotionally demanding) student type matched, the teacher was designated as congruent for the category of student preference (emotionally demanding). If the preferred and actual (e.g. underprivileged) student type did not match, the teacher was designated as discrepant with the category of student preference (emotionally demanding).

After individual coding, congruence percentages were computed for each ethnic group; see Table 10. Total congruence rates across the five student categories were: Anglos 35%; Blacks 32%; Cubans 29%. There was a only a small difference among the ethnic groups. The clear and important finding is that only about one third of the teachers are actually teaching the kinds of students they prefer. Thus, only about one third of the teachers receive the highest potential incentive value from the students they teach.

Finally, a rough computation was made to predict percentages of possible congruence for each ethnic group given its perception of students desired and those actually taught. The computation assumed that all possible congruent matches were made. The rule was to take the smallest

Table 10

Percentages of Ethnic Groups Experiencing Congruence between Kinds of Students Desired and Those Actually Taught

Kinds of Students	Anglo	Black	Cuban
Students whose emotional needs are a challenge to the teacher	1	2	2
"Nice kids," from average homes, who are respectful and hard-working	17	10	12
Creative and intellectually-demanding students calling for special effort	6	4	2
Underprivileged students from difficult or deprived homes for whom school can be a major opportunity	5	9	8
Students of limited ability who need unusual patience and sympathy--sometimes they called "slow-learners"	6	7	5
Congruence Totals	35	32	29

percentage from either the desired or actual category for each student type within each ethnic group and then sum the results. Using the data in Table 9, the potential congruence rates given the specific student population perceived by each ethnic group were: Anglo 55%, Black 71%, and Cuban 59%. These computations can only be viewed as suggestive. What they do suggest is that, if teacher-student matches were made, considerably higher rates of incentive value are possible for each ethnic group than they presently experience. Further, Black teachers as a group would probably be able to derive the highest amount of incentive value

from the existing student population while Anglo teachers as a group would probably derive the lowest incentive value.

Orientations toward authority figures and colleagues. Although they are not normally considered as such, the social and authority relationships in the work place have potential positive or negative incentive and reward values. Clark and Wilson (1961), for example, discuss the importance of group or "solidary" incentives indicating that organizational members may be motivated by such experiences as conviviality and group membership which are only available in a social setting. In studying ethnic group responses to various survey questions, a pattern of differences emerged. In general, Anglo teachers are oriented more toward collegial or peer relationships than Black teachers. Conversely, Black teachers had more favorable views of principals and were more disposed toward individuals in formal authority positions than were their Anglo peers. The basis for this generalization is detailed below.

One question asked teachers to choose an ideal teaching situation from among three possibilities. Table 11 shows the three choices: (1) total individual autonomy, (2) collegiality, and (3) strong principal control. All three groups choose complete individual autonomy at roughly the same rate. For collegiality the Anglo response is 12 points higher than the Black response. Conversely, Black teachers choose the strong principal response at 9 points higher than Anglo teachers. Cubans fall in the middle on both these responses.

Other questions probed: (1) the most helpful or useful sources of work insights, (2) help with curriculum and methods, and (3) assessment of teaching effectiveness. The general pattern across these three questions was a higher Black response for options tied to formal positions

Table 11

Percentages of Ethnic Groups Desiring Different Types of Social and Authority Relationships in Schools

Which of the following best describes your ideal teaching situation?			
Response Chosen	**Anglo**	**Black**	**Cuban**
I am fee to teach exactly the way I consider best without interference from anyone	33	36	35
I am part of a group of competent teachers who work together to do the best possible job.	37	25	31
I am part of a school organization where goals and purposes are spelled out by the principal, and teachers know exactly when their work is meeting the objectives of the school.	29	38	34

or authority relationships, while Anglos indicated higher proportions of informal and collegial relationships.

One question probed "getting ideas and insights on my work." Of seven potential responses only two showed important ethnic differences. For "In-service courses given by the school system," Blacks responded with 45% while the Anglo response was only 18%. Conversely, for "Informal conversations with colleagues and friends," Anglos responded at 44% while Blacks responded at 21%. Cuban responses were in the middle on both.

A second question asked for the best source of help with curriculum and methods. The options and response rates are indicated in Table 12. Blacks choose the principal or assistant principal at twice the rate of Anglos. By contrast, Anglos chose other teachers at a rate nearly twice

that of Black teachers.

Table 12

Percentages of Ethnic Groups Choosing Different Primary Sources of Curriculum and Methods Help

Teachers may receive assistance in curriculum and methods from a variety of sources. Which of the following provides the most help to the classroom teacher?

Response Chosen	Anglo	Black	Cuban
The principal	3	5	4
Central office supervisor(s)	2	2	2
Resource teachers, area specialists	11	14	15
Assistant principal for curriculum or curriculum assistant	17	30	32
Department or grade chairperson (head)	13	14	13
Other teachers in the school	43	26	26
Other	13	9	9

A third question probed for a perception of the best indicator of teaching effectiveness. The responses are shown in Table 13. In contrast to Anglo teachers, Blacks indicated higher rates for assessments by the principal and results of objective examinations. Anglos, on the other hand, chose reactions of colleagues, and self-assessments at higher rates than Blacks. Again the pattern of greater Anglo orientation toward collegial relationships and Black orientation toward more formal positions appears.

Table 13

Percentages of Ethnic Groups Choosing Different Primary Teaching Effectiveness Indicators

Which of the following is the good teacher most likely to rely on as an indicator of the effectiveness of his or her teaching?

Response Chosen	Anglo	Black	Cuban
Reactions of other teachers familiar with their work and students	19	13	13
Opinions expressed by students generally	10	12	15
General observations of students in light of the teachers conception of what should be learned	43	31	27
Assessments made by the principal	4	9	10
Assessments made by a supervisor	2	4	4
Results of objective examinations and various other tests	16	22	23
Reactions of students' parents	2	4	4
Other	5	6	6

Finally, teachers were asked to evaluate their principals along seven dimensions. The responses were "true" or "false." The evaluative statements and the "true" responses are listed in Table 14. There is a general pattern of lowest principal evaluation from Anglo teachers, highest evaluation from Black teachers, and Cuban teachers falling in between. Showing the greatest ethnic variation is the element of seeking teacher input on decisions directly affecting classroom issues. On this item Blacks respond with a "true" rate 18% higher than Anglos. It should be noted that each ethnic group is rating the same set of principals.

Table 14

Percentages of Ethnic Groups Reporting "True" Responses to Statements about Their Principal

Please indicate whether the following statements tend to be true or false of the principal with whom you work:

Statement	Anglo	Black	Cuban
I can usually count on the principal to support me in my relationships with parents	86	86	85
I can usually count on my principal to appreciate my best efforts	75	83	82
My principal provides a good sense of direction in the instruction given in the school	62	75	76
My principal seeks teacher input on decisions directly affecting curriculum or instruction	53	71	59
You could call my principal an effective executive	65	75	74
I can usually count on my principal to provide me with enough freedom to do a good job	88	91	85
The principal usually follows through on discipline problems that I bring to his or her attention.	68	72	71

To summarize, across a series of different kinds of questions a pattern of differences appears between groups of Black and Anglo teachers. Black teachers indicate more of a tendency toward desiring a school with strong principal leadership. They also tend to evaluate principals at higher levels and are more focused toward individuals in

formal authority for assistance and evaluation of their work than are Anglo teachers. Anglo teachers, on the other hand, tend to be more oriented toward colleagues for help and support, prefer collegial work relationships at higher rates and evaluate their principals as less effective than do their Black counterparts.* Presumably these patterns indicate incentive and reward potentials for teachers. Those settings which match teacher preferences are more likely to be motivating and rewarding.

Merit pay as incentive. Another incentive system receiving wide attention is merit pay. Although merit pay of several kinds was later instituted in Dade County (see Provenzo, McCloskey, Cohn, Kottkamp & Proller, 1987), at the time these data were collected they were not yet in operation.

One question was indirect and did not use the words "merit pay." Rather, teachers chose between: "Teachers who excel should receive extra income and prestige." and "Teachers should receive more-or-less equal income and prestige." The responses for "extra income and prestige" by ethnic group were: Anglo 50%, Black 47%, and Cuban 52%. Clearly the general concept of merit pay received a middle of the road response, and the differences among ethnic groups are not major.

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*A potential hypothesis to explain a tendency toward higher collegial orientation among Anglo teachers is related to the proportions of teachers in each ethnic group found in the schools. Teachers are deployed in individual schools in ethnic proportions which approximate the ethnic composition of the total district's teaching force. If teachers are more likely to be collegial with others of their own ethnicity, Anglo teachers simply have more opportunities for such relationships than do Black and Cuban teachers. Such a hypothesis would need testing; it would not, however, explain orientations toward authority figures and evaluations of principals.

In another series of questions teachers were asked to evaluate various arrangements for merit or differentiated pay systems. The response format was a five-point Likert scale ranging from a negative pole of "absolutely unacceptable to me" (1) to a positive pole of "absolutely necessary for me" (5). Six different questions and the mean scores for the different ethnic groups are shown in Table 15. Overall, there is little difference among ethnic groups. The single item with the greatest

Table 15

Mean Scores of Ethnic Groups in Evaluations of Arrangements for Merit or Differentiated Pay Systems

How do you evaluate each element?

Element	Anglo	Black	Cuban
Merit raises for exemplary classroom performance only	2.7	2.5	2.7
Merit raises for both classroom performance and additional non-classroom responsibilities	2.7	3.1	3.1
Classroom performance evaluated by administrators only	2.2	2.6	2.9
Classroom performance evaluated by fellow teachers only	2.1	2.0	2.1
Classroom performance evaluated by a team including an administrator, a fellow teacher and a specialist in a subject field or teaching methods	3.5	3.3	3.3
Additional pay tied to advancement through a career ladder of differentiated levels of duties, responsibilities and months under contract	3.3	3.4	3.5

ethnic spread is evaluation of merit "by administrators only" for which Cubans were highest and Anglos lowest. This finding is in line with the previous discussion of orientation toward the principal and positions of formal authority. Overall, Anglos are the least favorable and Cubans the most favorable toward proposals for merit pay, but the differences among groups are slight.

Interaction Analyses with Ethnicity of Principal and Students

In considering the interaction analyses of teacher ethnicity with principal or predominant student ethnicity, there are two major issues. First, what is the relative importance in terms of variation on measures of rewards and incentives of interactions with principals as opposed to those with students? Second, are there patterns of ethnic group interaction which are systematically associated with rewards and incentives? These two issues are addressed sequentially. However, before preceding it is necessary to describe another finding discovered only in the course of data analysis: there is a systematic relationship between the ethnic identity of the principal and the socioeconomic status of the students in the principal's school.

Principal distribution by socioeconomic status of school. Table 16 shows the relationship between principal ethnicity and student socioeconomic status. The data are for elementary principals because only in their schools is there a consistently meaningful proxy for student socioeconomic status: free and reduced price lunch count. The schools were arrayed in order from lowest percentage of students on the free/reduced lunch (0%) to the highest (99.4%) and were then broken into thirds by SES. The percentage of principals in each SES division was

calculated by ethnic group. Anglo principals are more likely to be found in higher SES schools while Black principals are more likely to be found in lower SES schools. The greatest proportion of Cuban principals is found in the middle group of schools. The importance of this finding is that the principal interaction analyses are confounded with SES of the student population because principal ethnicity and student SES are correlated. This finding brings into question a strong interpretation of the teacher-principal interactions.

Table 16

Percentage of Principals in Each Ethnic Group Found in the Top, Middle and Bottom Levels of Elementary Schools by Socioeconomic Composition.

Socioeconomic Level of Schools	Anglo Principals	Black Principals	Cuban Principals
Top third SES schools	49% (N=53)	8% (N=4)	7% (N=1)
Middle third SES schools	33% (N=36)	24% (N=12)	60% (N=9)
Bottom third SES schools	18% (N=19)	69% (N=33)	33% (N=5)
Total N	108	49	15

Relative importance of principal versus student ethnic interactions. There is consistent indication that variation in rewards and incentives perceived by teachers is related more to the ethnic composition of the student body than it is to the ethnic identity of the principal. The confounding of student influence with the principal measure suggests that the differences between student and principal interactions may be even

greater than they appear. These findings support the contention that students are a more important source of teacher rewards and incentives than are principals and other adults (Lortie, 1975; Mitchell, 1987).

Teacher-student ethnic interactions in relation to teacher rewards and incentives. As for the second issue, there is no simple pattern of ethnic group interaction that runs consistently through all of the analyses. For example, one hypothesis might have suggested that receipt of desirable incentives and rewards is highest when the ethnic identities of teachers and students are identical, when their subcultural backgrounds are matched. Responses to some questions do fall into this pattern, but it is by no means universal, either within or across groups.

Several examples are displayed in Table 17, which is constructed from responses to four different questions and is included to be illustrative of the complexity of the interactions. All groups indicate the lowest desire for their own children to become teachers when they teach predominantly Anglo students and the highest desire then they teach predominantly Hispanic students. The highest rates for choosing to send one's child to a public school occur when Anglos teach predominantly Anglo students and when Blacks and Cubans teach students groups with having no predominance. The lowest public choice rates for Anglo and Black teachers occurs with predominantly Black students and for Cuban teachers with both predominantly Anglo and Black students.

The pattern of receipt of extrinsic rewards is very mixed, with both highs and lows appearing with three different kinds of student mix. Intrinsic rewards are highest for Anglo and Cuban teachers but lowest for Black teachers when matched with predominantly Anglo students. Where predominantly Black students are matched with teachers, Black teachers

Table 17

Illustrative Items from Interaction Analyses between Student Ethnic Predominance and Ethnicity of Teacher

Student Ethnic Predominance											
Anglo Predominance			Black Predominance			Cuban Predominance			No Predominance		
Teacher Ethnicity											
A/T	B/T	C/T	A/T	B/T	C/T	A/T	B/T	C/T	A/T	B/T	C/T
"Yes" for: Would you like to have a child of yours take up teaching?											
23*	21*	22*	25	26	37	29	30	41	25	27	40
"Public" for: Would send your child to public or private school?											
54	70	43*	33*	56*	43*	46	70	48	46	74	59
"Extrinsic" rewards chosen from among three reward types.											
10*	21	9*	13	9	9*	13	9	10	13	8*	11
"Intrinsic" rewards chosen from among three reward types.											
67	73*	83	61*	83	68*	65	82	76	62	81	80
"Underpriviledged" as student choice for next year.											
2*	21	10*	18	31	20	7	18*	18	6	22	18

Underlines indicate the highest response for the teachers in each ethnic group; asterisks indicate the lowest response for the teachers in each ethnic group.
A/T=Anglo teachers
B/T=Black teachers
C/T=Cuban teachers

indicate the highest level of intrinsic reward while Anglo and Cuban teachers show the lowest.

Finally, when the question of desire to teach underprivileged students for the next year is asked, all ethnic groups indicate highest levels of desire with Black students while Anglo and Cuban teachers report lowest desire with Anglo students and Black teachers with Cuban students.

These responses are merely illustrative. The results are complex. There seems to be no clear pattern for matching teacher and student ethnic groups that would maximize rewards and incentives for any teacher group on a consistent basis. If matching by ethnic group were attempted to maximize several specific rewards, other rewards would simultaneously be lowered. The best that can be said is that the interactions between student and teacher ethnicity as they relate to rewards and incentives are very complex and lead to no obvious direct policy implications.

Effect Size, Ethnicity, and New Issues

The orientation taken in this paper was the search for differences in rewards and incentives among teacher ethnic groups. Patterned differences were found. However, important questions remain: How much difference really is a difference? Are the differences large enough to have practical significance for policy?

Answers to these issues are matters of judgement. If patterns of rewards and incentives received by teachers were to be compared with those received by corporate managers, construction workers, secretaries or bank tellers, for example, teacher ethnic group differences would probably appear small by comparison with occupational differences. From this

perspective it could be argued that teachers are more similar than different. However, the perspective of this research has been to look for patterns of differences among teacher groups. The magnitude of ethnic group differences in receipt of rewards and incentives was not found to be great on most individual questions. But when group responses to several questions were take into account simultaneously, the patterns appear stronger and more important than the responses to individual questions. Pains have been taken to display data so that the reader may reach an independent conclusion about the size and importance of differences. To the researchers, ethnicity does appear to make a difference worth taking into consideration during policy decisions.

Several related issues are important to note before moving to policy recommendations. First, because ethnic differences are assumed to arise from variations in the past and ongoing social experiences of group members, perceptual or orientational differences brought to the workplace by members of ethnic groups are not easily altered. Put differently, where real differences are related to ethnic background, they are not likely to be open to much change through efforts of policymakers and administrators.

Second, the analyses in this paper were based on ethnic groups, not individuals. Where differences do occur, they are group, not individual differences. The differences indicate group trends or tendencies, not absolute differences. When the focal issues are reduced to the individual level, it is likely that individual representatives of different groups will be found to be more alike than different. It is in the aggregate that the differences appear as patterns, and it is at this level that they have meaning for policymakers.

Third, in pursuing potential ethnic differences, the researchers encountered the important issue of variation in incentive value associated with matches and mismatches of various kinds of students perceived to be in the schools and the desires of teachers to teach particular kinds of students. Although all groups of teachers perceived relationships between student ethnic identity and distribution of students among the five descriptive categories, the kind of student seems more important for teaching incentives and disincentives than his or her ethnic identity. Thus, in a sense, the pursuit of ethnic differences was a key which opened another important issue. There are clear implications for further inquiry into student variety and teacher desire to teach, an issue related to ethnic differences but also extending more broadly. In the sections which follow, policy recommendations flow from findings related both to ethnicity per se and to the issue of student variety and teacher orientation toward it.

Fourth, the pursuit of ethnic differences and the subsequent findings concerning student variety and teacher desire to teach various kinds of students focuses attention on a much broader issue: the search for differences among the teaching population which may be related to complex patterns of teacher orientations. In pursuing an understanding of the occupation of teaching and those who fill it, Lortie (1975) quite consciously based his interpretations in Schoolteacher on modal responses. He has subsequently encouraged us to pursue "subanalyses," that is, analyses of subgroups within the teaching population. Ethnicity is but one of many potential ways of undertaking subanalyses. Because the analysis of ethnic groups did yield some patterned differences, the results are an encouragement to pursue further subanalyses grounded in

other kinds of individual and contextual differences. Undertaking further subanalyses will also provide a context in which to assess the relative importance of ethnic differences as opposed to other kinds of differences as they relate to various teacher orientations.

Implications for Policymakers

A number of the findings do not necessarily of lend themselves to specific policy recommendations. They do, however, inform policymakers about areas of policy intervention in which ethnic differences either are likely or not likely to be related to receipt of rewards and incentives for teachers.

Financial Rewards and Incentives

The evidence from practicing teachers is that there is likely to be little systematic ethnic variation in the incentive or reward value of money. All three ethnic groups cite low salary as the most important reason why teachers leave their positions and also indicate that their present salaries are the least important extrinsic rewards they receive. There is also very little difference in the general response to merit pay. Since financial rewards and incentives seem to figure in many policy proposals, the conclusion of no major difference among groups is important.

Primacy of Students for Rewards and Incentives

The most important positive and negative rewards which teachers receive flow from students; the only exception is the citation of low

salary as the most important reason for leaving teaching. There are some systematic ethnic differences in the data, but the more general observation is that policies which change important aspects of teacher-student relationships and interaction will have the greatest impact on the reward and incentive structure of teachers.

In the Dade County sample, Black teachers receive their primary rewards from students at a somewhat higher level than other teachers. This pattern is related to the slightly higher general satisfaction level of Black teachers as a group.

Principal Ethnicity

The interaction analyses suggest that the principal's ethnic identity is not of major consequence in the flow of teacher rewards and incentives. This is not to say that principals are unimportant. Teacher interviews indicated that principals can be very important in overall satisfaction levels (Cohn et al., 1987). However, it is principal characteristics other than ethnicity that are related to the differences teachers report.

Student Ethnic Identity and Student Type

The teacher and student analyses do not indicate systematic patterns of ethnic interactions that either maximize or minimize the flow of various rewards to teachers. The interactions do indicate variation beyond that of the teacher's ethnic identity alone, but there is simply no systematic pattern across reward categories. The type of students taught (e.g. emotionally challenging, intellectually challenging, underprivileged) appears more important to receipt of rewards than the ethnic identity of the students.

Responses to Models of Educational Reform

Patterns of ethnic differences identified in this study--especially orientations toward those in formal authority and colleagues--seem useful in predicting ethnic group responses to two general models of educational reform presently being advocated and implemented.

The rational-structural reform model (Boleman & Deal, 1984; Wise 1979) encompasses rational goal orientation and assumes that goals are best met through reliance upon bureaucratic structures, formal authority, and accountability measures. This kind of reform has typically emanated from legislative, executive or legal sources at a considerable distance from those intended to implement it. It is top down. There is an overtone that local educators are unable or unwilling to improve conditions if left to themselves. A more complete description of this model with concrete examples of its implementation in Florida is contained in a companion paper (McCloskey et al., 1987).

Competing with the rational-structural model is a more loosely bound set of "school improvement" approaches which assume that the locus of educational improvement must be local educators in local schools and that there is not a "one best" way for everyone. In this orientation, instructional leadership, enhanced collegial sharing and decision making, development of lead or master teacher roles, and development of positive school cultures are means leading to improvement (Carnegie Forum, 1986; Patterson, Purkey & Parker, 1986; Rosenholtz, 1985).

The teachers in this study have experienced the rational-structural approach to educational reform; they overwhelmingly respond to it negatively (Cohn et al., 1987; McCloskey et al., 1987). The patterns in the survey data suggest, however, that the rational-structural (legislated

learning) approach may result in reduction of rewards for Anglo teachers somewhat more than for Black teachers. Compared to Anglo counterparts, Black teachers are generally more positively oriented toward formal authority roles through which this kind of reform is typically implemented. The pattern includes more positive evaluation of principals; higher preference for strong principal leadership; higher propensity to seek curricular and pedagogical assistance from formal leaders and greater reliance on these leaders and test scores for indicators of teaching effectiveness; and receipt of more work insights from formal district in-service presentations.

In contrast to their Black peers, Anglo teachers indicated a stronger pattern of collegial orientation in the kinds of work arrangements they want and the feedback mechanisms they attend to in judging their effectiveness. They are considerably more likely than Blacks to seek curricular and pedagogical assistance and to receive work insights from peers. Given this pattern it is likely that Anglo teachers may find reform proposals which rely upon greater collegial activity somewhat more attractive and rewarding.

The difference in ethnic patterns has suggested potential differences in responses to various models of reform or policy intervention. This relationship is really a hypothesis, and further research is needed to test it. If the hypothesis holds up, then its import for policymakers is the awareness that a given intervention (e.g. decentralization of control as suggested in a companion paper (Cohn et al., 1987) may have simultaneous positive and negative reward or incentive outcomes related to ethnic identity. Such information would help policymakers to understand

trade-offs implicitly being made when choosing among different models or interventions.*

Recommendations for Retention of Teachers

Minimize the Negative Reward of Low Salary

Raising teacher salaries is related both to retention and recruitment for teachers from all ethnic groups. The data from this study are consistent with the long record of research findings associate with Herzberg's two factor theory of motivation (Herzberg, Mausner & Snyderman, 1959; Hoy & Miskel, 1987). Satisfaction and dissatisfaction are not seen as a continuum; each has different antecedents. The intrinsic rewards of reaching students, not salary, are the prime source of satisfaction with inservice teachers, but low salaries are associated with dissatisfaction and leaving the classroom. The major implication for retention of teachers is that higher salaries are likely to prevent some teachers from leaving the classroom. For recruitment purposes they are likely to attract more capable individuals who would otherwise be drawn away to

*As indicated earlier, because of the nongeneralizability of the Cuban teacher group beyond the Miami area, recommendations are based on the results from the Black and Anglo teacher groups. It should be noted, however, that although not generalizable, the Cuban group adds supportive evidence that ethnicity or subcultural differences are related to patterns of rewards and incentives in teaching. While Cuban teachers typically (but not universally) indicated responses falling somwhere between end points demarcated by the Anglo and Black groups, the Cuban teachers produced a unique pattern. On some criteria they responded quite like Anglos, on others they responded quite like Blacks, and on yet other criteria at almost the midpoint between the other two groups' responses. But when all of these responses to the various probes are taken together, the Cuban pattern is unique, a third pattern rather than a shadow of either of the other two.

occupations with higher entry salaries.

Increase the Incentive and Reward Value of Students

It has been argued that teachers receive their most important rewards from students and that students possess potential incentive or disincentive value. Students have incentive value when teachers believe that working hard and performing well will result in receiving intrinsic rewards from them because effort and performance become the conditions that must be satisfied for teachers to receive desired intrinsic rewards. When teachers believe the converse, that working hard and performing well will not result in receiving intrinsic rewards from students, students have disincentive value because the cost of work is not repaid by a sufficient level of reward.

Both belief and ability factors seem integral to the incentive or disincentive value of particular students for a particular teacher. The teacher must possess both the belief that he or she can teach the students and the ability to do so for them to have incentive value. The question of what type of students (i.e. emotionally challenging, intellectually challenging, underprivileged) a teacher would choose to teach taps the belief factor. The data indicate three important facts. First, there is a major discrepancy between the proportions of certain types of students that teachers want to teach and the proportion of those kinds of students in the system. Second, only about half of the potential matches between student type and teacher desire to teach them are presently actualized. Third, there are differences for teacher ethnic groups in the proportions of potential matches given the students in the system. In Dade County the potential is highest for Black teachers and lowest for Anglo teachers.

There are a number of strategies that policymakers might pursue in an attempt to increase the incentive value for teachers of the students in the system, given that neither teachers nor policymakers have control over who the students are and that demographic projections indicate a growing proportion of minority students. Suggested below are several strategies. Each has assets and liabilities. Each will have its own difficulty factor in implementation. None of the strategies alone, however, will solve the basic problem outlined above. It may be that a mix of strategies could be tried.

Strategy 1: Improve the match of teachers with students. One potentially feasible and relatively inexpensive way to improve rewards and incentives for teachers is to devise ways to maximize the matching of teachers with the kinds of students they desire to teach. At present, specific mechanisms do not exist, but this may be an issue worthy of considerable thought. Alternative school programs of various kinds, including magnet schools, are suggestive models, but their scope has not historically handled the large numbers of students and teachers that would be required to achieve a high proportion of matches in a location such as Dade County.

Several problems would likely be confronted. First, "equity" in matching would become and issue. Given present students and teachers in Dade County, a larger proportion of Black teachers could be matched than Anglo teachers if each teacher were in some kind of lottery with an equal chance of being chosen in sequential order for matching. Anglo teachers would simply run out of desired matches earlier than Black teachers, but all groups would run out at some point. Second, the potential of

resegregation of faculty might have to be faced. At present the ethnic mix of teachers in individual schools mirrors reasonably well the ethnic composition of the district's teaching force. Third, a problem of labeling students might be encountered. As indicated earlier, the descriptors for categories of students devised by Lortie in 1964 seem to reflect reasonably well colloquial ways of thinking about and demarcating differences among students. These are not descriptors, however, that most educators would wish to use publicly. Labeling is a generic problem. Alternative school programs sometimes get around the problem somewhat by having teachers define programs and then attempting to attract students to them. This process would likely be more difficult in schools with several kinds of students. Fourth, in matching teachers and students a high degree of homogeneous grouping might develop. This could even prove to be at crossed purposes with some legal mandates. Problems are evident, but thought might well be spent in constructing a matching strategy that would provide better results than existing practices.

Strategy 2: Alter the beliefs of teachers with ability but who have lost a sense of efficacy with particular students. Even if an effective matching system could be devised, there would be a large number of teachers left without desired matches. A larger proportion of them would be Anglo than Black. Given continuing demographic shifts, this situation is likely to continue. Another approach would entail working with highly capable teachers who for some reason have lost the will or the belief that they can teach effectively and receive rewards from the children to whom they are assigned. Mitchell (1987) notes this is the essence of burnout. These teachers could teach effectively, but they have lost the belief or

will to do so. Several interviews with veteran teachers of this kind stood out. Often these teachers experienced years of believing themselves to be capable and acting on that belief. But when the kinds of students they originally taught were replaced by unfamiliar varieties, they lost confidence. Some of these teachers adopted strategies aimed at "cornering the market" on the remaining students of the type they believe they can teach (usually the respectful "nice" kids or the intellectually challenging) by shifting to classes and subjects where such students were found in larger numbers (Kottkamp, Provenzo & Cohn, 1986). However, such an approach cannot be successfully pursued by many teachers given the existing student population.

Teachers who possessed efficacy in the past but have lost it as the student population has shifted might be identified so that various forms of help, encouragement, and support could be made available without threat of formal evaluation and accountability. Though difficult, such a venture might be jointly undertaken by the school district and the teacher union. The highly enthusiastic teacher identified elsewhere (Cohn, Provenzo & Kottkamp, 1986) would be candidates for helping to develop such programs.

Strategy 3: Alter the mix of orientations of new teachers. The first two strategies have assumed relative constancy in the teaching force. Another strategy looks toward possibilities inherent in the considerable turnover in the teaching force projected for the next ten years. This approach would concentrate on attracting new teachers whose orientations toward students are more congruent with the existing and projected student population than are the orientations of many veteran teachers. This strategy is related to both retention and recruitment of

teachers. If different kinds of teachers can be attracted, they are likely to remain longer because they are likely to reap the rewards from existing student bodies at a higher rate than many present teachers. Further detail for this strategy is provided under the section on recruitment recommendations.

Recommendations for Recruitment of Teachers

Stress Motivation as Well as Academic Preparation in Recruitment and Preparation of New Teachers

Broader approaches to teacher recruitment and preparation should be taken. Criteria such as motivation, belief, desire, and commitment need to be stressed along with--not in stead of--academic rigor.

In a companion paper (McCloskey et al., 1987) it was shown that legislative school reform efforts in Florida have focused almost exclusively on cognitive concerns, and that the reality of teaching as a social undertaking and the importance of dealing with the affective growth of students has been overlooked. In parallel fashion, recent policies to improve the quality of new teachers have focused on screening out those of limited ability or achievement, increasing their academic knowledge base through greater liberal arts emphasis, and moving professional preparation to the graduate level. In the attempt to improve teacher quality, policymakers have, perhaps unwittingly, too narrowly restricted their proposals for reform of teacher preparation to an academic and cognitive focus. Such restriction will likely exacerbate the relationship outlined in this study, the discrepancy between teacher orientations and the existing student population.

In another paper it was shown that veteran teachers who remain enthusiastic in the face of legislated learning mandates, a changing student body, and other perceived difficulties are differentiated from less enthusiastic colleagues more by their belief and motivation systems than by technical competence and academic knowledge base (Cohn et al., 1987). Starting from different issues and data, both this study and the Cohn et al. study arrive at a similar conclusion: attention needs to be paid to the will and heart as well as the head in the decision mix for teacher recruitment and preparation.

Specifically, greater proportions of people must be attracted to teaching who <u>desire</u> to teach the actual children now populating the schools. Individuals have traditionally been attracted to teaching because of a desire "to work with and help children." However, as the data indicate, the ideal image of the students to be helped has most frequently been that of respectful and hard working "nice kids" or intellectually challenging students. Students fitting the traditional ideal are now in short supply. The reality of who many of today's students are--specifically, the emotionally challenging, underprivileged, and "slow"--needs to be sharpened, and teacher recruitment efforts should, in part, focus on searching for candidates who desire to work with such students as well as preparing them to be technically and intellectually competent to do so.

Teacher preparation programs should seek out exciting schools where teachers are working effectively with and receiving personal rewards from the kinds of students whom many in this study identified as less desirable to teach. Such schools ought to be sites for student teaching and internships. This would at the same time potentially enhance the total

mix of human resources in these schools and provide the teachers in them with recognition.

Scholarship and incentive plans including "forgiven" loans to entice capable college students to consider teaching have been proposed. Motivational was well as academic achievement criteria should be considered in allocating scarce resources to individuals for such programs. This suggestion is doubtless plagued with many definitional and perhaps even legal difficulties. Thought should be given to ways of personalization such support systems to attract teachers who will more likely find it rewarding to teach today's student population.

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